

PR

The
Quarterly
Review
of Public
Relations

Psychological Drives Behind Public Relations

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APRIL
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PR

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IN AND ABOUT THIS ISSUE

To commemorate its tenth anniversary last fall, Ruder & Finn, Inc., New York, in cooperation with the University of Michigan and the New School for Social Research, sponsored a three day conference. Staff members and affiliates from the United States and abroad were addressed by such personalities as Norman Cousins, Max Lerner and Dr. Theodor Reik. The discussion by Dr. Reik prompted **David Finn** to write "Psychological Drives Behind Public Relations" (page 3). Mr. Finn, who is president of Ruder & Finn, has written for **Management Methods, Harvard Business Review** and the **Public Relations Journal**.

* * *

That the USSR is skillful in controlling public opinion has long been obvious. The comprehensiveness of this effort is detailed in "The Soviet Union's Persuasion Machine" (page 10) by **Donald L. Miller**. Mr. Miller, a former Navy officer and research director of the All American Conference to Combat Communism, is a student of USSR propaganda techniques. A one time reporter for the **Washington Post** and **Washington Evening Star**, Mr. Miller is now associated with Donald L. Lerch, Jr. & Co., marketing and public relations consultants in Washington, D. C.

* * *

Too often, in our opinion, public relations is discussed as if it were the unique province of business and management. We are pleased, therefore, to offer our readers an informed report, "Social Agencies: A New Challenge for Public Relations" (page 14) which describes the problems of these non-business associations. The author, **William Fisher, Jr.**, is an account executive with Victor Weingarten Public Relations, a New York firm specializing in nonprofit organizations. Formerly Mr. Fisher was Director of Public Information for the American Foundation for Overseas Blind,

and Chief of News Bureau for the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. In 1956 he was co-winner of an APRA award for his work in connection with the celebration of Helen Keller's 75th birthday.

* * *

There is perhaps more talk and less information about jobs in public relations than in any other subject in the field. "How the PR Job Market Looks Today" (page 24) is an attempt to present some facts about this shadowy, yet basic area. **Edwin B. Stern**, the author, heads his own agency in New York which specializes in the job placement of public relations executives. His article is based on a study of the file records of several hundred job openings last year. Readers will recall his earlier article "Getting a Job in PR" in the January, 1957 issue.

* * *

The role of public relations in political campaigns has been the subject of frequent criticism and general misunderstanding in recent years. **Morton B. Lawrence**, author of "Public Relations —A Major Force in Political Campaigns" (page 29) is the president of Political Campaign Associates, New York. His firm represented two successful senatorial candidates, Republicans Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.) and Thurston B. Morton (Ky.). Last year he was public relations director of the Draft Rockefeller movement and the Rockefeller for Governor clubs. He services nonpolitical accounts through **Morton B. Lawrence Associates, Inc.**, of which PCA is a subsidiary.

* * *

The full results of the current Silver Anvil Awards Competition are detailed in a special section beginning on page 39.

The Editors' Page

pr A valued contemporary of ours stays awake nights fretting about the "degrading term"—"PR." He wonders if a doctor goes around saying, "I'm a doc."

No, he doesn't, but he does use M.D. rather than Doctor of Medicine. And probably many of his patients call him Doc whether he likes it or not, just as many newsmen would continue to say "PR man" even if we in the field outlawed it today.

This is not to quibble with our friend. His observation suggests that here we have another manifestation of the attitude of uncertainty and un-sureness which crops up in a new and expanding field. It is not only that the abbreviation "PR" is employed, but that sometimes it is "P.R." or "p.r." Even the full term is now hyphenated in some quarters: public-relations.

Nor have we settled on how to identify ourselves to the public, either. Some of our fraternity are consultants. Others are counselors (or counsellors). Some firms take a company name like "The Ace Company." Others follow the practice of lawyers and ad—(correction)—advertising agencies, i.e., Glotten, Klangley, and Quonk. A great many affect the John Doe and Associates nomenclature, provoking newsman-humorist George Dixon to ask, "Whom do they associate with and who can stand it?"

It has now been established that a female Representative is a Congressman, and that when presiding, she is Madam Chairman. But it is not yet clear whether public relations man—the term, that is—embraces public relations woman.

We agree with our colleague that we should decide what we're to call ourselves without necessarily adopting his caveat on "PR." We are badly in need of something shorter and more explicit than "public relations man" or "public relations practitioner." We have no equivalent to "journalist" or "educator."

To that end we have had suggested to us "public relationist" which we mention without comment.

Perhaps all we can agree on now is that, whatever we call ourselves (and resisting the obvious quotation about a rose), it's what's up top that counts. •

AN INQUIRY INTO . . .

Psychological Drives Behind Public Relations

by DAVID FINN

IT has been clear to many observers of public relations, and to most practitioners, that the personalities of top management have a considerable influence on the character of the public relations activity undertaken for any particular company or institution. In its crudest sense, this relationship leads some to describe public relations as simply a technique for personal build-up. More refined concepts suggest that highlighting personalities in a public relations program helps to humanize a company, thereby enabling others to identify with its policies, products and services.

There has been practically no research by psychologists, social scientists or public relations professionals on the role of personalities in public relations. The ideas currently in vogue are no more than the folklore of the business. And yet there is little doubt that a more profound and incisive understanding of the subject could make a major contribution toward a more mature, more valid and more useful practice.

As a first step toward an organized research program into this and similarly uncharted areas of public relations activity, our firm recently held a conference at the New School of Social Research, in which about one hundred practitioners from our staff and affiliates and a dozen scholars exchanged views. One of the seminars was devoted to a discussion of "Man's Drive to Power and Fame," with Dr. Theodor Reik as the guest scholar. This article is based on the remarks made at that seminar and subsequent observations made by others who studied the transcript.

The Cult of Modesty

Most executives beginning a public realtions program feel obliged to state: "I want to make it absolutely clear that I'm not interested in personal publicity; I will permit it only insofar as you feel that it can be helpful to the company." It is amazing to see how frequently the exact same words are used, and by men in entirely different positions—university presidents, government officials, entertainers, corporate executives, artists, scientists. Furthermore, each person feels that he is different from other people for whom public relations practitioners work and that probably all the others do want personal publicity.

So common is this disclaimer that public relations men take it for granted, and those with wide experience have learned how to give the proper reassurances tactfully and diplomatically. They also begin to think they know how to read between the lines, and the more stoutly the executive insists on his modesty, the more certain the public relations man becomes that the executive's deeper desires are in the opposite direction.

Many would be incredulous to learn to what lengths some executives go in order to disguise their interest in personal publicity, or, indeed, that they even feel the need to disguise it at all. One of the more extreme examples is the case of the youthful president of a company who retained outside counsel to develop what was supposed to be a sales-oriented public relations program. After a series of initial conferences, the company's sales vice president drew the public relations counsel aside and told him, off the record, that the president was afflicted with a fatal disease, had no more than six months to live, and that his associates were hoping that public recognition for his wonderful achievements could be gained before he died. They wanted this as a deserved gift for him, and one that only professional public relations activity could produce quickly enough. Furthermore, since he himself wasn't aware of how sick he was, this plan would have to be kept secret from everybody. Ostensibly the program was to be aimed at company and product recognition, but actually the object would be to gain personal recognition and acclaim for the president himself. Much moved, the public relations counsel left no stone unturned to gain the desired personal publicity—an effort which, as it turned out, could be continued for years, long after it became apparent that the story about the president's illness was untrue. This ruse had been used as a device—invented by the president and his vice president—to direct the public relations activity toward personal publicity, without having to admit that this was what was really wanted.

Most people do not find it necessary to indulge in such deceptions. The public relations practitioner learns through experience to gauge the degree of public relations attention an executive will feel most comfortable with, and guides himself accordingly. Either he doesn't discuss it at all with the executive, or, if necessary, he explains the standard public relations theory that recognition for top executives strengthens the company's over-all reputation. There is almost always, however, something off the record about all this, a "secret" program that the practitioner carries around in his head, which tells him how much of his efforts should be devoted to helping executives gain personal recognition. This, of course, he finds awkward to discuss openly.

Psychological Aspects of the Desire for Fame

According to Dr. Reik, the desire for recognition, or "the craving for fame," has its origins in the child's need to be praised, acknowledged, welcomed by his parents. As his world grows to include teachers and other older people, this desire becomes more abstract, and he begins to think of his neighborhood, his city, his country. Thus, when a national figure seeks acclaim or recognition from "the public," he is saying in an adult world what the little child says when he cries out, "Look, Ma, no hands," or "What a big boy am I."

When this desire for fame is frustrated, it can become neurotic. There are many instances of paranoid people, who have an idea of grandeur about themselves which has no relation to reality. There are also examples of emotionally disturbed people who are really important but nevertheless feel persecuted. Both are derivations of frustrated egos.

An optimally healthy person identifies with his achievement rather than seeking to generalize about himself as a human being. Instead of admiring himself as a person, he takes satisfaction in the values of what he has done. Consequently he tends to be looked upon as a modest person. If what he has done is not very significant, then he has little to be modest about; he is simply realistic. And even if he has done many remarkable things, his pride does not blind him into thinking that he is a remarkable person. It is not he that is great, but what he has done. It seems that people in general become genuinely modest only after they have achieved something remarkable in their particular fields.

In every person, there is a difference between what he thinks he should be and what he knows he is. The ideal that every person builds up

for himself is called the superego. If the distance between the two becomes too great, a person can become emotionally ill. He becomes intolerant of his own weaknesses and shortcomings and develops exaggerated ideas about human nature. He demands the same kind of perfection in others and becomes cruel when they do not conform. This can lead in extreme cases to great crimes against mankind—such as those of Robespierre, who wanted all men to be virtuous, and of Hitler, who wanted all men to be heroes.

When a person retains public relations counsel, the resultant activity must in some manner touch on his inner desires for fame, even though his purposes may be framed in terms of total corporate development. Actually, the corporation itself progresses because of the ambitions of the main decision-makers at its head, and the satisfaction of those ambitions is inextricably bound up with what happens to the corporation.

Professional public relations activity can help a company and its management gain respect and recognition for the good things it has done. If, however, public relations becomes directed toward excessive ideas of grandeur, toward trying to make the company itself or its management, rather than its deeds, appear to be great, it can lead to trouble. If it finds itself an instrument of depicting a company as being vastly different from what people in it know it really to be, it can contribute to exaggerated ideas about what business life should be like and can lead to intolerance and cruelty.

Tendency of PR Practitioners to Be Overcritical

Many public relations practitioners believe that the people they work for are neurotic in their attitudes toward publicity, and they are often more severe judges of their clients, according to Dr. Reik, than psychologists are of their patients.

They may criticize executives for being strangely antagonistic to personal publicity or for seeming to have an overwhelming concern for it. Psychologically speaking, there may be nothing at all unhealthy about either of these; there simply are some people who enjoy being in the limelight and others who do not.

The public relations practitioner has no way of knowing whether a person's desire for fame is healthy or neurotic, and perhaps that problem shouldn't concern him. He should address himself to the task of publicizing the accomplishments of the people he works for and avoid exaggerating or distorting the facts. But it isn't necessary—or perhaps even

healthy—to demand so much of himself that he feels his job is to become a watchdog over all the ills of the business world.

In fact, it is important to be understanding about the shortcomings of one's work and accept one's limitations with tolerance. It is very much like the old joke in which one man complains to his friend about the weaknesses of the fairer sex—their unpredictability, expensiveness, moodiness, etc. His friend replies that, in spite of it all, a woman is still the best product of its kind on the market.

Clearly, personal recognition, legitimately earned, can help a company accomplish many important purposes. There are countless examples in public relations history bearing out this point. A healthy awareness of this should underlie the practitioner's appraisal of the practical problems he faces. A desire to learn more about psychological drives should be directed toward increasing the usefulness of public relations, rather than toward an overmoralistic concern to play a messianic role in society.

Positive Approaches to Help Satisfy Drives

Since the psychological structure behind a desire for public relations falls into specific patterns, it is possible to describe some constructive approaches which may prove helpful:

1. Accept the fact that it is perfectly natural for personal ambitions to be involved in public relations activity. If an executive denies this is so, deal with the situation tactfully, trying to get him to recognize what it is he really wants without feeling uncomfortable about it. Freud liked a little anecdote in which a Persian shah had a dream and, after asking a dream interpreter about its meaning, was told, to his dismay, "Alas, O King, all your relatives will die, and then you will die." Much distressed, the king does away with the wise man and finds himself another, who interprets the dream by explaining, "Hail, O King, you will survive all your relatives!"

Sensitivity to these drives for personal fame is particularly important when there are top company executives who are competitive. Here again, each may deny that he wants personal recognition and may claim that his sole interest is the good of the company. However, if all can frankly recognize the realities of the situation, and that public relations activity can help each of them gain some satisfaction, it may be possible to reduce some of the existing or potential tension.

2. When a desire for fame is bottled up in an executive's mind, it can produce what may appear to be an excessive personal ambition, and the

public relations practitioner may feel himself under great pressure. He may be afraid that he is working for someone who will never be satisfied. However, he may have a chance of solving his problem by arranging for as much publicity as possible at the very beginning, to help dissipate the pressures of frustration which have built up in the executive's mind. Once an executive has had the experience of being in the public eye, he may find that he is really looking for more lasting satisfaction, and be much more responsive to sound guidance from his public relations counselor.

3. A public relations man should try to find out what the real talents and accomplishments of an executive are. He should win recognition for those rather than for some artificially created attribute. This approach will be convincing to others, and satisfying to the person concerned.

All too often the public relations practitioner doesn't make the effort to find out what those qualities are in the people he works for. He tends to use a standard "bag of tricks," which he applies to all situations such as scholarships, art sponsorship, gifts to public institutions, activity in charitable organizations. These he considers basically good public relations, which can help a person win the kind of reputation he wants. Yet if the person genuinely doesn't feel an interest in these activities, his actions ring hollow.

Dr. Reik pointed out that the same principle could be applied in the psychotherapy of psychotic patients. If, for instance, a man hospitalized with a Napoleonic complex could be helped to discover his real talents, he would show decisive improvement toward recovery from his illness. And every person has special abilities, if one looks hard enough for them. If he turns out to be a good carpenter and in the course of therapy finds it possible to produce some real achievements in carpentry, the pressure to be Napoleon may find itself somewhat relieved.

It often takes great skill and patience on the part of the practitioner to find that aspect of an executive's accomplishment which can best be expressed through public relations. When he is successful, the executive feels that the recognition is a natural and normal thing; he feels he earned it himself, and therefore gains satisfaction from it. If the public relations man, however, superimposes his own personality on another person, the latter may feel that his fame is simply a product of promotion, a manufactured thing which has no real value for him or his company.

4. The public relations practitioner should seek to develop techniques by which the personality of a top executive can be closely iden-

tified with the more permanent aspects of his business, so that he can take personal satisfaction out of the publicity given his company. This is often done by attaching the executive's name to a particular project or company division or invention or product or principle of management. Such a course can prepare the groundwork for long-term and growing satisfactions for the executive, who thereby senses that successes of the company bring fame to him for his personal achievements.

Direction of Future Research

It is clear that while many public relations practitioners have gained a good deal of experience in working with personalities, not enough is known to state many general principles.

The brief exchange between a prominent psychologist and public relations practitioners on which this article is based suggests that much can be learned by interpreting from a psychological point of view the practical experiences of those who are the subject of public relations activity. It is surprising how little such investigation has been undertaken in the past, since so much of both public relations and psychotherapy have to do with man's drive to power and fame.

A promising step in this direction would be a study of just what happens in the lives and attitudes of people for whom successful public relations activity has been undertaken. Such a study is now in the preliminary stages of design at the New School for Social Research as part of the next long-range research program sponsored by our firm. •

* * *

2600 Public Relations Firms in U. S.

There are about 2,600 public relations firms in the United States, according to a recent survey by *PR Reporter*. 60% per cent of these firms are concentrated in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington and San Francisco.

The fifteen largest cities were the basis of the survey. These fifteen cities account for 1,800 of the 2,600 total, with the remaining 800 scattered among all other cities, according to *PR Reporter* estimates.

The role of the "Big Five" cities as focal points of commercial public relations runs somewhat counter to population statistics, but is explained by each city's importance as a communications and/or governmental center.

New York, which is 2½ times larger than the second largest city (Chicago), has three times more PR firms (715) than its nearest competitor (Los Angeles with 237). Chicago follows with 198 firms. Washington, 11th on the list in population, jumps up to 4th place in PR firms with 149. San Francisco, 7th in population, ranks 5th in firms with 122. All other cities follow well behind the leaders: i.e., Philadelphia is 6th with 65 firms. But Miami, not in the first fifteen in population, has 50 firms.

AN INFORMED REPORT ON . . .

The Soviet Union's Persuasion Machine

by DONALD L. MILLER

THE speaker at a recent civic club meeting in Washington, D. C. was recounting his experiences during a visit to the Soviet Union.

"Everywhere it was the same," he said. "From Moscow to Tashkent, everyone answered my political questions in almost the same words. Either the people are very sincere or it's something the government does with mirrors."

Unanimity of public opinion in the USSR, which baffles and sometimes irks Americans, is not achieved by mirrors. More than two million men and women are kept busy week after week writing, talking and persuading. They are the Soviet's agitators and propagandists—the human muscle and brainpower of the Soviet's persuasion machine.

Organizationally, the Soviet Union's persuasion apparatus is centered in the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Anyone who has served on a large public relations staff would find Agitprop's organization familiar.

Soviet Union's Persuasion Apparatus

Agitprop has a director, four vice-directors, and a number of section chiefs. The number and names of sections change from time to time, but they usually include a) propaganda, b) mass agitation, c) cultural enlightenment, d) press, e) motion pictures, f) radio and television, g) art, h) science, and i) schools. The press section is divided into 1) central press, 2) republic, territorial and regional press, and 3) local press. Cultural enlightenment handles relations with houses of culture, libraries, museums, village reading huts, and so on.

However, it is in function more than in organization that the real uniqueness of Agitprop turns up. Unlike the United States, where we all compete on fairly equal terms for the public's attention and support, the Soviet Union's Agitprop seeks to monopolize public attention.

In the USSR all media are Government operations, and all are humble servants to carry out whatever Agitprop directs. In addition to press, radio, motion pictures, television, art, and publishing, Agitprop has a giant speakers bureau of some two million agitators who are located in every factory and collective farm in the country and are ready to transmit Agitprop messages verbally at a moment's notice.

At first glance this may look like a perfect setup for a lazy communicator, but Soviet persuaders work hard at their jobs. They believe that governments exist only because men believe and obey. To their care is entrusted the vital job of making sure Soviet citizens continue to believe.

Soviet Union's Persuasion Techniques

Agitprop's most popular technique is the saturation type of campaign. In such campaigns all media carry the same message to the public during the same period of time—a week, a month, or several months. Primary messages are formed as slogans or short, self-explanatory sentences. A quick glance at a headline is enough to give most people the feeling that they understand the issue completely.

Since Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev is head of both the Party and the Government, he is the Soviet Union's top propagandist. This assures coordination between policy and propaganda at the top echelon.

A typical campaign is kicked off by a key speech by Premier Khrushchev. The speech is carried in all Party and Government newspapers, in magazines, and on radio and TV. The newspapers and magazines include those published by labor unions, technical societies, professional and cultural societies, youth groups, and the armed forces, as well as general circulation publications.

Newspaper, magazine, radio and TV commentators follow up with editorials and commentaries. These often include overseas press reactions to Premier Khrushchev's speech. When favorable quotations are not available from the legitimate press, they are taken from Communist Party newspapers overseas. These press reports convey the impression that all progressive people of the world support the Party position.

Then a series of meetings is held by labor unions, factory committees, professional, cultural and technical societies, women's and youth

groups. The official messages are repeated and resolutions are passed. All these are reported in the media.

In a major campaign international groups controlled by the Party, such as the World Peace Council and World Federation of Trade Unions, also hold meetings, hear speeches, and pass the desired resolutions. All this propaganda is directed primarily to the eggheads—to the brighter sections of the population who get most of their information from reading and from high-level discussions.

Meantime, Agitprop sets its some two million agitators into motion. They hold mass meetings, make speeches, buttonhole and harangue fellow workers during lunch period and even on the way to and from work. There is about one agitator per one hundred people. So Agitprop's message can be carried verbally and personally to virtually every Soviet citizen within a period of a few days.

This massive communication process is not a one-way operation. Plenty of opportunity is provided for feedback from the people. At union and other meetings, individuals can raise questions and objections. These are answered on the spot. Newspaper columns are open to letter writers. Questions raised here are answered persuasively.

The agitator's job goes beyond parroting the Party's messages. He also listens to questions and objections, and answers them as persuasively as he can. Really hot questions are channeled back to the local Party Secretary and then back to Agitprop and the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee. Thus, agitators also serve Agitprop as opinion samplers.

Millions of people may be involved in a single campaign. Besides utilizing professional agitators and propagandists, a major campaign will enlist the services of the Party's seven million members and the eighteen million members of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol), as well as many cooperative non-Party members.

Campaigns of one kind or another are running all the time in the USSR. Some are nation-wide, some are regional, some local. They attempt to persuade Soviet citizens to accept and follow Party and Government orders; they urge them to work harder to "overtake and surpass America"; they expose factories or collective farms which do not produce quota amounts; they expose and condemn individuals—such as author Boris Pasternak—who deviate from Party policy; they even try to persuade Soviet citizens not to get drunk on week nights.

In their foreign propaganda and agitation, Soviet persuaders use

all the same techniques they use inside the USSR. Campaigns are used to monopolize communications media and world attention. Soviet messages are kept alive for months by top-level speeches, letters to foreign diplomats and individuals, meetings, rallies, demonstrations, and petition signature drives. Where Communist Parties are strong, they send out agitators to hold local meetings, distribute propaganda, and conduct person-to-person agitation.

Effectiveness of Soviet Persuasion Machine

The big question is this: How successful is the Soviet Union's persuasion machine? There is no pat answer. Their person-to-person agitation followed by radio, newspaper and pamphlet propaganda is having a very telling effect in areas where people have little education, much poverty, and big desires.

In advanced areas of Soviet persuasion, efforts are somewhat less effective today than they were ten years ago.

Agitprop's effectiveness in the Soviet Union is a moot point. On the surface Soviet peoples appear to believe and to parrot whatever the Party says. But, as author Boris Pasternak and others report, in the face of massive and continuous propaganda many people turn their thoughts inward. They show an acceptably stereotyped face publicly but live with completely different thoughts in the privacy of their own minds.

No one, not even Soviet Party leaders, knows how many Soviet citizens are leading double lives. It is a primary job of Soviet persuaders to convert these men and women or to convince them that their secret hopes cannot be fulfilled. It is to these inner worlds and hidden thoughts that our Western persuasive messages must be directed. ●

* * *

Villain in the Piece

"Eisenhower was a superb politico-general—an able, high-level public-relations man in the good sense of a term that is deservedly unpopular."

—William S. White, *Harper's*
December, 1958

"PR men in Washington shun the label of 'lobbyists,' claiming they are presenting facts, not trying to influence people. But the line is blurred. 'No matter what they say,' says Washington Congressman Don Magnuson, 'they are lobbyists.'"

—*Newsweek*, March 2, 1959

THERE'S ROOM FOR BETTER PR PRACTICE IN . . .

SOCIAL AGENCIES

A New Challenge for Public Relations

by WILLIAM FISHER, JR.

In a sidewalk interview several months ago, Carl Gaston of the New York Post asked a random sampling of New Yorkers which group they thought to be better qualified to handle child adoption procedures—social agencies or physicians.

Although Mr. Gaston obviously strove for an objective balance between pro- and anti-social agency opinion, some of the "anti" replies were significant for the language used to describe the organizations and individuals who carry out most of the adoption work in our country today. Social workers, one respondent said, were "cold." Physicians, on the other hand, were accustomed to dealing with human problems.

The reaction is not unusual. Not only is it shared by millions of Americans, but the impression of coldness and lack of humanity unfortunately extends to the thousands of voluntary social welfare and public health agencies unconnected with adoption.

Public Image of Health and Welfare Agencies

A pinpoint diagnosis of public attitudes toward these agencies is difficult for a number of reasons. Chief among these—and perhaps most troublesome in a public relations sense—is the fact that there appears to be no single, clear-cut picture in people's minds of the public service agency and its staff. Rather, there are a variety of more or less confused images, overlapping in many respects, widely divergent in others, but all based on a vast range of fact, fancy and half truth.

There is the picture of the social worker as a middle-aged, single female who wears man-tailored clothes, clodhopper shoes and a bun be-

hind her head. There is the ethereal, other-worldly creature who carries food baskets to the poor. There is the coldly efficient adoption caseworker who fulfills her role as professional snooper by opening all the family-skeleton closets. There is the high-pressure fund-raiser-promoter. And there is the paid agency executive who sometimes is thought of as a do-nothing growing fat on other people's money.

That these and other highly confused impressions are far more untrue than true needs no debate here. There is hardly a thinking American among us who will not recognize the contribution of the social welfare and health agencies to the progress of our country.

But what of the unthinking? Is it important that they be set straight?

From many progressive, forward-looking spokesmen for the social work and public health fields, the answer has come—yes! It has come belatedly, perhaps, but it has properly taken the form of what can only be termed an agonizing appraisal of the omissions that have brought the agency field as a whole to this discouraging state of affairs.

Reasons for Unfavorable Image

The reasons for this state of affairs are many and complex. Basically, social welfare agencies have never seen the need to confide in those upon whom they are dependent for contributions and support. But even this attitude is more a symptom than a cause. It is an indication of a kind of exclusive, ivory-tower attitude which too many agency people still hold. To these agency workers, public relations is the dirtiest of words.

Harold Levy, in his book *Public Relations for Social Welfare Agencies** says agency people consider public relations a frill, a costly luxury for which they are much too busy. Nor do they think public relations people can tell their story properly.

Perhaps the press agents in our midst, masquerading as public relations counselors, have helped produce this attitude by needlessly exploiting those who use social work services. Or perhaps some unscrupulous or ill-informed reporter or TV producer has distorted or sensationalized material given in good faith. I am certain that both situations have arisen more than once to enrage and embarrass agency people.

But there is, I suspect, an even deeper reason for the social workers' hostility to what seems to them like blowing their own horn. It is a reason that is rooted in the psychology and history of the social work profession itself.

It took many years of ridicule and setbacks for "charity" to be-

* Harper & Bros., 1956.

come the profession we now know as social work—to pass from a rich wife's pastime to an organized and impressive professional practice. As social work and public health emerged as professions at last, their members became more and more "professional," more and more jealous of professional "status" and professional prerogatives. Like other professions, they developed their own methods, their own procedures, even their own language and rituals. They became exclusive.

It is underneath all this that the public relations person must dig for the real story of health and welfare, and this process often produces a kind of embarrassment in the professional health or social worker because it inevitably unearths the warmth and genuine compassion—the *heart*—he feels for those he serves. For the professional, for reasons as old as his profession itself, to reveal too much of warmth and compassion seems a surrender of long-sought status. So the PR man, who must dig to work, is often regarded as something approaching a natural enemy.

But the fault is not entirely with the agency people. Many of those who do PR work in or for social welfare or health organizations must share at least part of the blame for their inability really to understand the agency worker and his problems and for their high-handed failure to explain to that worker why it is so important for the agency to tell its story again and again.

And then there is "confidentiality"—the near-basic social work tenet which holds that the relationship between the agency and the client is secret and inviolate. Most agency public relations people are convinced that their social work superiors have overdone their insistence on strict and rigid compliance with the demands of confidentiality. On the other hand, many PR people have not tried hard enough to find a middle road between this social worker's concept and the press agent's concept, which is "a picture break at any cost," even if it means the exploitation and possible injury of vulnerable human beings. They have thrown up their hands in despair and frustration and have moved on to less frustrating jobs.

"Confidentiality" and Two Approaches to It

A true story illustrates the extreme approach to "confidentiality." A social agency needed foster homes for hard-to-place children, but when a chance came to include some of those children on a network television show designed to find homes for them, the agency turned it down. It said it preferred having no homes at all to "betraying" the confidential relationships between agency and client by "exposing" the children to TV.

The children remained in the institution, gloriously unpictured—but unwanted too.

There is an intelligent alternative to this fundamentalist approach.

One example is to be found in a campaign of the WAIF Division of International Social Service, whose business is finding homes in the United States for children from overseas. Like U. S. adoption agencies, WAIF has its "hard-to-place" children—the older ones, the racially mixed ones, the Orientals. There is no better object lesson in the value of communication than the one WAIF learned after it had agreed to newspaper and television publicity regarding "hard-to-place" children arriving in the United States.

The children were not exploited. The true names of children already placed were not used, and the new parents' names and addresses were used only with written permission. Newspapers and TV producers cooperated, with the result that WAIF/I.S.S. offices were swamped with inquiries about Korean children, half-Negro children, and so forth. Once again Americans, properly informed, proved the largeness of their hearts.

Unfortunately, such situations are still far from commonplace. Assuring their more frequent occurrence is a necessity in overcoming our most formidable challenge—that of convincing agencies of their *obligation* constantly to share their work and their problems with those who help support them. The health and welfare story must be told in ways that are truthful, yet moving and human; it must be told skillfully and imaginatively through every available medium from *Life* to the telephone; it must be told not only to the great polyglot audience of a network TV show, but also to such smaller but equally vital publics as fund-raising and service volunteers, clients, contributors, members of boards of directors; it must be told year round and not just at fund-raising time; and it must be told in ways calculated to attract new respect for agencies and new blood and new brains to a field dogged by a mistaken nineteenth-century stereotype.

Whatever the reasons may be for the field's long silence, the consequences are presently coming home to roost. We find a public too often ignorant—if not indifferent or hostile—to the needs of health and welfare groups. We find a public irritated by the increase in appeals for funds. We find a public that uses community health and welfare facilities on a widespread scale yet remains unaware that behind every community program is an agency and an agency staff. This is no fault of the public. The

agencies have simply failed to blow their horns loudly enough—and in the right places!

Why is this important? Why must the story be told? There are, it seems to me, a number of reasons.

Necessity for Agency Communication With Public

Social work once meant charity—provision of food, shelter, clothing. Today these functions have been assumed by tax-supported public agencies. Therefore the private, voluntary organizations have moved off in other directions where their services are used not only by the poor or the hungry but by everyone. Recreation, family service, physical and mental health, citizenship, education—these are only a few of the areas in which voluntary groups work, both in local communities and on the national level. The millions who use these services have every right to know more about them, their staffs, their problems and their goals.

The contributor to them has the same vested interest. Not long ago social work was a medium through which the rich gave to the poor—the few to the many. Today the situation has changed. Today the many give to the many. Health and welfare services no longer belong to the rich; they belong to the community—to every citizen who has dug down for a dime or a dollar.

Though the public has been more than generous, however, it seems increasingly apparent that even the well-off must eventually become more discriminating and selective in dispensing their largesse. In this competition for the contributor's dollar lies one of the most cogent reasons for more explanation, more interpretation, more sharing with more publics of the problems, needs and triumphs of social work and health agencies. Today no agency can afford an ivory tower. Only the agency that tells its story best and most frequently will survive to see its goals attained.

Some Grounds for Optimism

Yet, the picture is not all bleak; there are grounds for optimism also. There is a growing interest in PR on the part of social agencies, health groups, hospitals and the like. The tremendous job of coast-to-coast communications done by our great national health organizations for polio, heart disease, cancer, and other diseases also attests to the fact that many

nonprofit PR people have mastered at least the techniques of public relations.

One might expect this to be true of organizations in New York, public relations capital of the world, but Harold Weiner, executive director of the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, believes it is happening in other parts of the country as well. Mr. Weiner finds an increase not only in the number of agencies recognizing the positive value of public relations programs, but also in the levels of competence among agency PR people and in the salaries they receive.

The findings of the American Foundation for the Blind reflect the same trend. In 1955, Dr. Gregor Ziemer, AFB's Director of Public Education, polled five hundred agencies for the blind. He found that only 9 per cent employed full-time public relations people. Today, less than three years later, the figure has climbed to 15 per cent.

Future PR Man in Nonprofit Social Agencies

These steps are the baby's first. The running will be done later, perhaps by some young man or woman now in a college public relations course. It will not be easy. Tomorrow's nonprofit PR person will still have to relate his agency to publics which would rather not be reminded of disease, disaster, delinquency, family breakdown, mental illness. He is going to have to summon his creative best to capture the real essence of health and welfare work. He is going to have to become a translator of professional lexicons, an interpreter and moulder of complex programs involving human beings. And he is going to have to do all this on practically no budget at all!

But most of all he is going to have to be a salesman—a sympathetic, tactful convincer—and his convincing is going to center less on the media than on his colleagues inside his agency.

It is going to be up to him to explain that "confidentiality" sometimes hurts those who need help most—that public relations is a lot broader and a lot more constructive than a picture of a crippled child in a local newspaper—that media people don't necessarily have horns—that an agency's public relations embraces everything from its relationships with clients, volunteers and Board of Directors to the way the office looks or the way the phone is answered—that public relations can't be turned on and off like a water faucet—that it is not enough to relate to the public at fund-raising time or in a time of unfavorable publicity—that Reputation

and Public Relations are synonymous—and that the building and keeping of Reputation is a 365-day-a-year job.

That job can be filled only by a man or woman of extraordinary patience, tact, understanding, insight and skill, functioning on a policy-making level, a person who can *earn* the trust of agency workers, a person to whom those workers will *want* to turn for counsel.

Only through this kind of person can nonprofit public relations assume the respected management status it enjoys in industry.

Suggestions for Constructive Action

To hasten that evolution, there are a number of concrete steps that might be taken by the public relations profession as a whole.

First, PR people in all branches of the profession might actively urge the inclusion in college programs of required courses in public relations for students of social work, public health, hospital administration, and medicine, the latter either in medical schools or under hospital aegis during internship. The students of such courses might never learn how to write a news release or put together a brochure, but they would learn what public relations is and why it is needed. And they would know that it is possible to maintain professional status without excluding their publics from their day-to-day thinking.

This kind of instruction would be designed to provide a general knowledge of the PR field to students who would someday be working in social welfare and health agencies, but not necessarily in their public relations departments. In the area of training public relations students for PR specialization in the nonprofit field, it seems to me we might take two other steps.

The first is to do a better job of communicating with the places from which our future nonprofit PR talent will probably come—the university public relations schools. A continuing job of education needs to be done among the public relations faculties and students of these institutions. They must know that salaries and benefits for agency PR people are steadily improving. And they must be told of the challenge to public relations skill that lies within almost every agency.

The second step involves the establishment of a system of internships for these students, while in their senior year, in the PR departments of large and small health and welfare agencies, hospitals, and so forth. The stipend of an intern involves a usually modest sum, but the dividends returned upon such an investment might well be incalculable.

Another program worthy of consideration is predicated on the belief that health and social welfare services today belong to all of us and that all of us share a common obligation to support them—not only with money, but with time and talent as well. I have in mind the idea of a Public Relations Council patterned after the Advertising Council, whose contributions have been so significant. If we really believe in the organizations we help support, then why not a voluntary association of health, welfare and corporate public relations people functioning without fee to provide over-all PR counsel or continuing or one-shot public relations materials to agencies which can demonstrate a public need but which are unable to finance their own public relations programs?

A final suggestion concerns the public relations profession as a whole less than it does those of us who specialize in public relations for nonprofit groups:

Until we change the image of the agency and the agency worker—until America pictures the agency as a dynamic and useful institution rendering a vital service—all of us will have a tougher row to hoe.

There is no easy, pat formula for changing images and misconceptions which have persisted so long. Part of the fault, I am sure, lies within the agencies themselves. But much of our failure to change that image until now lies in the fact that we have not tried hard enough in any concerted way.

What may be called for as a first step is an institutional public education program sponsored by and embracing all social welfare and health organizations generically and directed at virtually every segment of our population, including our high schools, colleges and universities.

Hopefully, such a campaign would produce a number of results. It would help to explain, to interpret, to translate, in as many ways and through as many media as possible, what an agency is, what it does, what kind of men and women staff it, what their problems are, and how they are meeting those problems. It would help restore the confidence of agency people in themselves and in their work. It would help correct the stereotype that has dogged the agency worker so long. It would make a start toward attracting more young people to the social work and health fields. And, importantly, it would serve as a graphic demonstration to doubters within the agencies of the ability of public relations techniques to educate and to influence.

These are attainable goals, goals based on steps that could be taken now, before the public loses further confidence in the health and welfare fields. •

scanning

THE PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

Each quarter Dr. Donald W. Krimel selects items from the various professional journals in the social sciences which have implications for the public relations field.—Ed.

WHAT CAN BE DONE BY "THE VOICE"?

"The Communication of Feelings by Content-Free Speech," by Joel R. Davitz and Lois Jean Davitz, Institute of Psychological Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, in *The Journal of Communication*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

When it comes to copy for radio broadcasting or for a recorded speech, what effects must be written into the content, and what effects might be obtained through the style of the person who delivers the message? This piece suggests some answers. Reading merely the alphabet, speakers tried to express feelings. Panels of judges guessed as to what qualities were intended.

The results indicated that *anger*, *nervousness*, *sadness*, and *happiness* can be expressed strongly by the manner of the speaker. Moderately easy to transmit were impressions of *satisfaction* and of *sympathy*. Qualities that did not come through very well were *pride*, *love*, *fear*, and *jealousy*.

The method of this research involved the playing of recordings for the judges. Thus the results would apply directly, for the practical purposes of the public relations practitioner, only to radio copy or to copy for recorded presentation. Future research may combine oral style with visual presentations and with various kinds of content; the Davitz project is helpful as far as it goes.

WILL YOU BE TRUSTED?

"Trust and Suspicion," by Morton Deutsch, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc., Murray Hill, N. J., in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. II, No. 4.

Cold war feeds and flourishes on lack of *trust* between nations.

His quick rise in politics seems to stem from the power of this new candidate's public personality to inspire *trust* in the mind of the voter.

The community relations problem of an industrial plant seems insoluble because the city's citizens do not *trust* the management's motivations.

The quality of "trust" is at the core of public relations. This article reports what is possibly the first major attempt, by social scientists, to define the quality and submit it to laboratory research procedures.

While on the faculty of New York University, and working under contract with the Office of Naval Research, Deutsch directed a research team which applied a complicated set of procedures to human subjects, in examination of the characteristics of trust and related concepts. Here are some tentative conclusions, of potential usefulness to public relations persons, which he brought forth:

A person is more likely to be trusting of another person (or institution) if he believes that:

1. The other person has little or nothing to gain from untrustworthy behavior.
2. He has some measure of control over the fortunes of the other person.
3. The other person has a record of having acted, in past problem situations, on the presumption of mutual trustworthiness.
4. They share dislike of a third person.
5. They share a liking for a third person.

A general pattern which seems evident in the Deutsch report is that as a person decides to "trust" he also decides to behave in a "trustworthy" fashion relative to the other individual or institution involved. He seems to make this double-barrelled decision (or continuing series of decisions, really) on the basis of his observation of the other person *in action*, and on the basis of his feeling of some degree of power over the actions of the other.

Thus to inspire trust, indicate trustworthiness by positive actions, and also indicate your substantial dependence on the good will of the person in whom the trust is to be inspired.

ON GETTING ACTION FROM GROUP MEMBERS

"Some Factors Affecting Membership Motivation and Achievement Motivation in a Group," by Morton Deutsch, in *Human Relations*, Vol. XII, No. 1.

Deutsch again, this time working on a U.S. Air Force contract. An involved laboratory project indicates that when a prize for group activity is at stake, its attractiveness is not measurable by its material value alone. For the individual in the group, the value of the prize as a motivation for hard work is strongly related to "the initial experience of group success" and to the person's observation of enthusiasm for the prize expressed by his fellow members of the group.

The individual's rating of his fellow members, by the way, was found to depend in large measure upon the success or failure of the group in achieving its objectives, and on the "attitudes he perceived the others to have toward participating in the group."

A PLACEMENT SPECIALIST TELLS . . .

how the PR JOB MARKET looks today

by EDWIN B. STERN

THE average salary of the public relations man hired in 1958 was \$9800; the median salary was \$8200.

These figures represent the specific salaries of the men actually added to the payrolls in that year by several hundred public relations employers—corporations, public relation agencies, advertising agency public relation departments, trade associations and health organizations.

Though the majority of the firms included are in the New York area, salaries do not vary greatly in different parts of the country.

The only possibly misleading factor in the analysis is that few openings with the smaller (fewer than five employee) public relations agencies have been included, and within this group there is a preponderance of openings at \$6-8000.

Smaller corporations are not represented either—but that is another matter and does not distort the figures. As a rule of thumb, corporations smaller than those listed in *Fortune's "500 Major Corporations"* do not employ full-time public relations men. Instead they use agency services—and are using them more and more.

Because of the recession in 1958, a question can be raised about the normalcy of any statistics based on that period. But as long as percentages are used and not quantitative numbers, conclusions are basically valid.

Fortunately, the total number of employed personnel remained stationary within a few percentage points. Companies and agencies retrenched only slightly. But they did not continue their expansion pro-

grams, nor in many case did they replace men lost by normal attrition. As a result, the number of new people hired during 1958 dropped an estimated 25 per cent. The salary levels did not change.

Let's fluoroscope the actual figures:

<i>Salary Bracket</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Openings</i>
\$ 5- 7,000	25
7-10,000	38
10-15,000	28
15-20,000	6
Over 20,000	3

And so, here and now, we put an end to the fiddle-faddle that public relations men, as a group, drive Mercedes Benzes and eat imported strawberries every Sunday morning.

Types and Locations of PR Openings

The man now at or below the \$10,000 mark has only a one in three chance of rising above it.

Most features of the vaguely pyramidal salary structure would apply to other professions and corporate business areas but there is one spectacular deviation possibly unique to public relations: We have more openings at \$7000 than at \$5-6000.

There are few trainee spots in the field. Here and there some of the giant corporations like Alcoa, Sun Oil and General Electric are running trainee programs (and some of these were curtailed last year).

But most organizations have no practical use for the man who can't write. And they find it more expedient to pay the junior \$7000 after his several years' apprenticeship on a newspaper or a trade magazine than to sweat through the labor pains and the incubator uncertainties of training him.

Where were the openings—in corporations or agencies?

Corporations	32%
PR agencies	32
Ad agencies' PR departments	26
Trade associations & nonprofit	10

Although specific figures are not available on salary levels within each of these groups, there is a definite trend toward upper salary openings (over \$10,000) being predominately within the corporate area.

When large public relations agencies have to fill a top level open-

ing, they try to fill it from within their own ranks of lower salaried people. But among the smaller agencies, \$10,000 is about the top salary except for those of the owners.

Employers' Specifications for PR Men

Attempting to blueprint the varying specifications for men at the different salary levels is almost as tricky as explaining why one doctor can charge \$200 and another \$2000 for the same operation.

Depth of experience, technical competence, prestige of prior employer (let's face it, it's true) are all obvious components of a man's worth.

But beyond all that, there is a major area that must be—and yet seldom is—included in summing up a man's value. This is the "Q" factor, a combination of two loosely related elements which lack the reassuring tangibility of being included on the resume.

Element Number One is his outer personality—the effect he has on other people, the leadership, the confidence and good will that he generates. And this can vary with the specific group of publics the man will have to deal with on the particular position.

Element Number Two is the inner emotional structure that enables him to cope with the corrosive discontents and frustrations of organization life without shrinking from the duties or demands.

Many idealistic attempts have been made to set up rating scales for applicants, with background, I. Q., personality and appearance given various weights. In the final analysis the selection of a new executive is a management decision and is almost impossible to chart precisely.

Down in the \$5-9000 brackets, the "Q" factor is important, but no more so than the man's writing ability.

Well-adjusted Joe may be the greatest, but if he can't write, he's going to have it tough in agency life. Yet a corporation may see growth possibilities and possibly hire him.

Dirty-necktie Al, who needs a shave but who can write like Red Smith and James Reston rolled into one, will have an easier time moving on an agency payroll, but even there he will probably not climb very high.

Adding it all up in a rough generalization, in the under-\$10,000 bracket, creativity is more important within the agency field than in the corporate structure.

Once examination is started of the upper bracket executive, then the "Q" factors of inner and outer personality assume higher priority both in agency and in corporate hiring.

MR. STERN'S advice on HOW TO APPLY FOR A PR POSITION

Even in that on-stage period when a man is seeking a new business connection, some errors of omission and commission pop up. Here are some suggestions in areas in which many slip.

1. Present your background factually and specifically. When asked the question "What did you do for your last firm?" get down to brass tacks. What specific areas were you responsible for? Did you write your own releases, magazine articles, house organ? Did you supervise a staff, and, if so, how many people were on it?

If you have not the poise to present yourself without unbecoming boastfulness, how can you sell a department or an agency service?

2. Keep your personal feelings about your current employer to yourself. Chances are that your present firm is no worse than the next

one. All large groups of people contain about the same number of off-beat characters and impossibles-to-get-along-with together with nice, decent human beings.

3. Prepare for your job interview both with a knowledge of the organization and with a control of your own nerves. Use three Milltowns if necessary so that you don't show irritation if you're kept waiting for half an hour.
4. Watch your personal public relations program. Recently one man I know left his position, giving only four days' notice. Another refused to pay an employment agency fee solely because he hadn't put his signature to a legal contract. Within public relations, practically everyone knows everyone else. And who can tell when he will be forced onto the job market again?

"Q" can possibly be measured by the balance a man strikes between the urge to get the job done and the sometimes exasperating needs of proceeding patiently and politically.

Late last year the just-arrived public relations director of the Blank Corporation discovered that divisional sales managers were being called directly by the trade press for important spot news information. Obviously, this wasn't a good public relations operation. It had pitfalls, too, because sales managers are not always aware of public relations aspects. Further, it didn't help the public relations department's prestige with the press.

But so far the new public relations director has done nothing about it. And he tells me he won't do anything until he has won "authority" over each of the sales managers—not merely by executive fiat, which he already has, but by personal man-to-man acceptance. Meanwhile he maintains the respect and good will of his associates, and when a "situation" arises, he gets full cooperation without pounding the table.

Is professional skill to be entirely disregarded as an item of evaluation? When a man arrives at that stage where he even peeks at the \$15,000 income tax tables, certain qualifications are assumed. His command of communications facilities and techniques, his sense of public relations are probably competent. By this time he knows how to submit a story idea to *Fortune*, and he knows better than to ask the advertising department of the *New York Times* to kill a story.

But public relations, possibly more than any other corporate activ-

ity, is still fighting for recognition, acceptance and authority. The public relations director therefore faces an especially heavy burden on the interpersonal level. The "Q" factor can be considered as the measurement of efficiency in this area.

PR Must Campaign for Public Acceptance

As for the future of public relations, there's one roadblock up ahead. The profession has satisfactorily weathered the 1958 depression with no more of a setback than any other management service had. More corporations are adding either public relations departments or public relations agencies, though surely not at the rate of thousands per year, as frequently quoted. Public acceptance is, fortunately, growing. However, if the current misleading publicity about public relations is not counteracted, we're in for trouble.

Pick out any substantial-looking businessman on your next plane trip. Ask him what he thinks about public relations. Ask him whether he'd like to see his son in the field. Do this with twelve men, and then you'll have first-hand data on the depth of the problem.

As of now there are more businessmen unexposed to the basic values and uses of public relations than there are informed executives. As of now the sole information and education flowing out to the unexposed consists of the muckraking "exposés" of the past year, which brilliantly convey the impression that public relations is simply a horn-blowing of special pleadings and a medium of free advertising.

Where is the public relations man who is going to arrange—today—for a series of mass audience stories on professional public relations, presenting a realistic exposition on how public relations helps smooth the employee and employer problems of plant relocation; how it helps communities with specific local education problems; and how it contributes to a broader democracy by impartial political education of employees, for example?

This is the story that will spell out how public relations contributes to the American business economy and helps private enterprise carry out those policies that earn public understanding and acceptance. It's the story of how public relations plays a part in enabling coal miners' daughters to take singing lessons and in filling steel foundry parking lots with three thousand dollar automobiles.

This public relations campaign is what public relations needs today to help the men and women in the field expand their own personal futures. •

PUBLIC RELATIONS—

A Major Force in Political Campaigns

by MORTON B. LAWRENCE

FOR the past five years, the connection between public relations men and political campaigns has been the subject of much public discussion and of critical articles ranging from the philosophical essay to the satirical novel. More than ever before, the political public relations man has been called upon to justify his activities as public attention has been focused not only on the winning candidate, but also on the methods employed in his campaign.

This growing concern as to whether the use of public relations men in political campaigns is ethically justified is surprising because public relations men in national political campaigns are not a new phenomenon. It was Charles Michelson, a great newspaper man, who, as public relations director of the Democratic National Committee, was given much of the credit for rebuilding the Democratic Party into a vocal opposition, which enabled it to come into power in 1932. What is new is the emergence of the public relations man as an important factor in the local political campaign. With few exceptions, candidates for Congress and for local office now retain public relations men as key persons on their campaign staffs.

Perhaps it is the quantity, more than the quality, of the public relations practitioners in the political arena that has made them the object of so much controversy. Probably it has been the mass impact of public relations on politics which has caused its critics to raise the question of the ethics involved.

As campaign costs rose and communications media became more complicated, it was only natural that the political parties and their candi-

dates could no longer rely upon the amateur, whether he was a political leader, a friend, or a devoted worker. The increased use of television, with its time limitations and special requirements, called for the services of an expert. As mailing costs rose, even the simple "letter to the voter" had to pay for itself by establishing candidate identification and creating stimulus to favorable action. Thus, the public relations man on the local scene, like the nuclear physicist, was a product of the electronic age.

PR Techniques in Political Campaigning

Let us then examine his place in a political campaign. He is generally the coordinator of ideas, but fundamentally he is an interpreter of policy. As the political parties and the candidates have their own points of view on most issues, he is not called upon to make policy, nor should he attempt to do so. He must, however, gauge possible public reaction to any stand which his candidate may take on an issue and, in the light of his findings, present the candidate's views in a way which will gain the greatest public acceptance.

It is not his job to twist policy into conformity with the position having the greatest voter appeal, but rather to present the candidate's honest opinions in the most cogent manner and favorable light.

But, argue the critics, what about the candidate who is sold under false pretenses—whose publicity, speeches and literature make him seem to be what he isn't? The reputation of this type of candidate can survive only in defeat. Victory, and the necessity of taking a stand on the issues when he is in office, will give him a record with which he must face the voters in the next election. No "Madison Avenue techniques" can overcome a record of performance, or nonperformance.

The public relations man serves his political client by making available to him all of the modern promotional techniques which have been used so successfully in corporate and industrial public relations. Knowing that he must compete for the voters' attention not only with the opposition but with the day to day nonpolitical attractions and distractions, he is forced to discard hackneyed political campaign techniques and to seek a more interesting format in which to present his campaign.

It is this modern approach which has aroused much unfounded criticism by writers in our more profound publications. These very dedicated political scientists take the same approach to modern political campaigning as did our parents to modern medicine—if it tastes good, it can't be good for you. They seem to feel that a political television program or

brochure in which complex issues are presented in an interesting or "easy-to-take" manner constitutes a fraud upon the voter. They do not realize that the choice is not between the stereotyped presentation of issues in all their complexities and the popularized version, but rather between the popularized version and no voter interest at all.

PR Media in Political Campaigning

The public relations man must consider not only the techniques to be used in the campaign but also the media in which they are to be employed. Unlike a consumer product, where the limitation on media is determined only by the size of the budget, the choice of media in presenting a candidate is contingent upon the candidate himself. A political public relations man can work only with the material which he has—the candidate's personality, his views and his record, if any. He can highlight the good points and play down the bad points, but he cannot create something that is not there. Only after a competent analysis of the client's virtues and drawbacks as a candidate can he determine the media to be used. After a decision has been made as to the proper media, the public relations man uses his talents as a communications expert to make the greatest impact upon the voters.

As the coordinator of ideas, he is the one to develop the central theme of the campaign. He has to determine which issues shall take precedence and which shall be subordinate and has to mold them into a basic approach to the voter. He develops, if possible, a slogan which in a few words brings the central theme home to the voter.

The effectiveness of political sloganizing has been demonstrated by its becoming a major target of these same critics, who seem to forget that slogans have played a major part in the development of world history and have spurred men on to great achievements. Is it surprising then, or unethical, that in searching to pinpoint and, if you please, simplify the complex issues of our times, public relations men employ slogans in their political campaigns?

Campaigns Fought With Ideas, Not Influence

Throughout the world political opponents, as well as governments, are waging a war of ideas. In our own country, candidates are relying less than formerly upon the "Christmas basket" and the "scuttle of coal" to win political support. Our voting population is increasing with every election and the vast cross section of our citizenry look to our lawmakers for guidance in this era of world tensions. The voter is also interested in bet-

tering his economic lot, and in seeking to advance economically, he tends to move not as an individual, but as part of a large group concerned with major domestic issues.

Thus it becomes important for the political candidate not only to take a firm stand on issues, but to be able to communicate his views to his constituents. Because public relations men have the ability to deal with ideas and to make them understandable to the public, they fill an important need and perform a major service in political campaigns.

In this capacity, they have a great responsibility. No longer are they dealing with competitive soap flakes, but with programs and personalities that may have a profound and lasting effect upon the well-being of the nation.

Only by maintaining their own integrity and by living up to the highest ethical standards of their profession can they continue to function without creating voter cynicism with its accompanying loss of public confidence in our elected officials. ●

* * *

Three Universal Problems

1. Lack of general understanding as to what public relations is.
2. Difficulty encountered by practitioners in working directly with top operating management on public relations matters.
3. Lack of recognition and status for practitioners . . .

"To solve the lack of understanding as to what public relations is, I suggest we start teaching basic public relations to men, women and youngsters of high school age, in all areas of the free world. Practically every individual has relations with other people. We have knowledge, which has been uncovered through research and trial and error methods, that can be most valuable to the average individual. We, in the public relations field, can make a major contribution by leading the way to a better understanding of human behavior. In so doing we will let people find out that public relations is not just publicity and press agency . . .

"To overcome the second universal problem, involving the difficulty of practitioners working directly with top management, may require some re-evaluation of our present thinking. This problem is generally found only by public relations department staff personnel. Any consultant who has problems in working with top management is not worthy of this field of endeavor. He had better find another job.

"We haven't gained more recognition and stature in the eyes of the public because we haven't earned it. We must use all the knowledge, tools and techniques available to us before we gain the position we seek. It involves selling our employers, and clients, that it costs money to do a professional job, but that the results pay high dividends. So far, few people trust us to get the effective results, of which we are capable, with the proper training and techniques."

—Roy J. Leffingwell, Public Relations Consultant,
Chairman of the Pan-Pacific Public Relations
Group. Honolulu, Hawaii, speaking to the
Public Relations Society of the Philippines.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE BUSINESSMAN A POLITICIAN WOULD BE

SUBURBIA: Its people and their politics

By ROBERT C. WOOD, *Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston: 1959, 302 pp., \$4.00.*

The businessman's political debut may simultaneously create one of public relations' greatest challenges (headaches) and broadest opportunities (problems). To be sure, the businessman has always been in politics in one form or another. What is new this year is his emphasis on organized political action as a way of business life and his outspokenness. And even if the businessman is acting in his own behalf and not as a company representative, it will be the task of public relations to worry about the consequences of what the businessman says where and to whom. One way to avoid the inevitable boycotts and legislative boomerangs may be to accept an assist from Willie Sutton. Asked why he persisted in bank robbing, Sutton bluntly explained, "That's where the money is." For it just may be that the suburbs are where the votes are counted.

Over 30 per cent of the country's population is now concentrated in the Scarsdales, Forest Parks and Glendale; over 60 per cent live in the 174 metropolitan complexes of which these suburbs are satellites. And while the suburbs have unique political problems of their own, they complicate enormously the burdens of the core cities to which they attach as well as of the state governments on which they depend for support. It is in these metropolitan areas that the challenges to business climate improvement are especially difficult and the opportunities for improvement are being overlooked. The reasons why are outlined neatly by political scientist Robert C. Wood, Director of the Field Study Program for Political Education at M. I. T.

The Village Green Revisited

Physically the suburbs are the towns just outside of the cities where existence depends on a technology of automobiles, septic tanks, and efficient, electrified water pumps. The 10,000 to 25,000 suburbanites who live in the larger number of these towns are commuters. They generally own

their own homes, raise large families, and have some access to open spaces. And because more people live in the suburbs than in the cities, in isolated towns or on farms, suburbs are thought to be the home of Modern Man, the living room of the big organization, and the breeding ground of Togetherness. In this popular view fostered largely by Whyte and Riesman, the suburbanite leads a frenzied, scheduled life within patterns set by a security-conscious community. Everybody takes part in everything and agrees with everyone. The churches are promoters of positive thinking and the schools concentrate on adjustment. The result is the classless society on the installment plan.

But, Wood writes, this is largely a picture of the dormitory suburbs, and the more affluent one at that. And even here there are important inconsistencies, especially in the suburban insistence on small town government that clings to old forms and concepts. Currently there are some 15,000 suburban jurisdictions that have held onto the authority to enact ordinances, to tax, to grant or withhold licenses, to build schools, and so on. This "governmental havoc" raises the cost of doing singly what could be done collectively or regionally, and creates almost insuperable problems for utilities and education where competing townships refuse to cooperate.

As Wood points out, the independent community is indeed in many respects like the colonial model it attempts to preserve. The mobility of the suburbanite is not, as Lewis Hacker seems to think, a plot of the large organization to deprive its members of political influence,¹ but simply a modern version of the "commitment of limited liability" that was a feature of the New England as well as of the 19th century prairie town. The differences that used to exist between towns are being preserved among suburbs: Darien, Connecticut, is not like its neighbor, New Canaan, and is distinctly unlike Shaker Heights or Grosse Pointe.

Altogther Wood believes that "if any Contemporary Americans retain a sense of civic obligation, a belief in the efficacy of direct participation, and a capacity to produce leaders in the tradition of localism, they come from this group. The raw materials for good citizenship and good government are at hand. [But] the fact that these materials are at hand does not necessarily mean that they are employed to build communities." And the fact that they are not is a function of the peculiar nature of suburban politics.

¹ *Politics and the Corporation*, Fund For The Republic, New York: 1958.

"The Suburbs Beat Us"

The ideology of Suburbia as the reincarnation of the early Colonial town finds supporting evidence in the overwhelming shift to Republicanism in metropolitan areas since 1946. The theory is that the suburbs are simply reflecting the values of rural America, which for generations has delivered substantial Republican majorities, and when the city dweller becomes a commuter, he absorbs the more conservative attitudes and changes his party allegiance. Following this view, Robert Taft predicted in early 1952 that "the Democratic Party will never win another national election until it solves the problem of the suburbs," and Chicago's Democratic boss, Jake Arvey, afterward admitted "the suburbs beat us." The voting records seem to support the politicians impressively.

Between 1948 and 1952 the Republican plurality in the suburbs of the 15 largest metropolitan areas increased 120 per cent. In 1952, 17 of the 24 suburban Congressional districts around the 20 largest metropolitan areas elected Republican representatives. By 1954, a 7 per cent advantage was the best the Democrats could do in any metropolitan area. And by 1975, according to one estimate, the Republican plurality in metropolitan centers may be as large as two million votes.

Wood finds, however, that these Republican pluralities may not be the result of a suburban conversion, but of a shift taking place in the cities. The suburbanite takes his preference along with him, and suburban votes more nearly correlate with occupation and income.

Taking both theories—either changes in party allegiance are the result of "conversion" or they are simply "transplanted"—Wood suggests that there is actually at work a shift toward political homogeneity:

"If assimilation is the major motivation on the part of the individual, the homogeneity comes about by conversion. If a desire to seek out one's own predominates, then the homogeneity results from transplantation. In either event, the end product is the same: an increasing differentiation in political sentiment among the suburbs, a correspondingly wide range of voting behavior for suburbia in toto, and a dwindling minority group in any given suburbia."

Moreover, a fetish of nonpartisanship that sets the suburbs off from any other rural or urban centers is clearly operative. The suburbanites' local preferences and support of local issues are nonpartisan whether schools, zoning regulations, garbage removal, or streets and roads are involved. Public affairs are instead the province of local clubs and organizations. Conversely, there is a refusal to recognize that there may be sub-

stantial differences of opinion in the electorate and an ethical disapproval of any partisanship that arises. Not only are any attempts to ring party politics into suburban debates inimical to "what is best for the community," they are downright bad taste.

Consequently, what emerges, says Wood, is a new kind of political "boss" who is less a leader and more a reporter reflecting community opinion. He finds it difficult to use any of the standard techniques of political appeal; the "trade" is virtually unknown. Since rank-and-filers make few demands for strong, disciplined leadership, they are unwilling to submit to discipline or to recognize its place in party organization. Tough-minded independence is being carried so far that "the electorate resents the slightest attempt to encourage a citizen to avail himself of the right to vote, much less an attempt to induce him to support a particular party." And as the suburbanite abdicates political responsibility, and simultaneously finds that he cannot possibly make all the decisions that nonpartisan, direct participation demands, the bureaucrat and the professional take over and by default make the crucial policy decisions.

Other People's Money

But will it last? Can the suburban ideal of the 20th century small town with its atomized governments hold out against the realities of limited financial and natural resources? Wood believes the answer may lie in the degree to which the suburbs can continue to expect outside municipal, state and Federal aid.

The demands being made on suburban government do not stem from conscious political action. Instead "the automobile, medical advances that extend life expectancy and raise new problems in geriatrics, and industrial requirements for a more literate and more skilled labor force are the culprits in the growing suburban budgets." Not only have practically all suburbanites come to expect a sizable minimum of recreational, educational, building inspection and parking lots services, but they are also setting vastly improved standards of performance.

What is more, new suburbs that have to start from virtually nothing find themselves saddled with enormous capital needs. The part that they can meet depends almost solely on a property tax that is becoming increasingly less productive. Nor is the industrial plant or "light industry" which the suburbs are trying to attract likely to be the answer. What seems to happen is that industry rarely locates where it is most needed in terms of tax resources. In fact, there is a tendency for the plant to locate

in one community and its employees to live in a neighboring suburb, thus complicating the burdens of supplying services still more.

In short, the financial help that Suburbia needs is coming largely from "assistance programs devised in institutions composed of local governments (the state legislatures) for the benefit of local governments and ultimately executed by local governments." Its other problems—water, automobile and railroad transportation—are being solved or will be taken care of by other institutions. In one form or another, through one device or another, the suburbs survive despite "a weak and unbalanced tax structure . . . poorly administered and with built-in pressures to continue the process of metropolitan fragmentation even further. Their political institutions and processes have typically been inadequate and ill-equipped; their bureaucracy amateurish and untutored."

A New Partisanship

It is, finally, the ideal that Wood finds wanting. "The historical confusion between democracy and fraternity in the United States is understandable because there was in the beginning no alternative to small town life." Today he feels there is an alternative in metropolitan reform, which, by providing for regional cooperation and efficiency, would eliminate Suburbia's tendency to block the rule of law, eliminate controversy and limit freedom. Basically, nonpartisanship is to blame.

First, the concept of government by fraternity substitutes personal relations for the contractual relations of the law. There is now in Suburbia no essential distinction between society and government. Public affairs and private affairs are difficult, if not impossible, to separate. Government is forced to operate under the "constant, haphazard and sometimes suffocating scrutiny of whichever members of the town decide to busy themselves with its affairs" with the result that a rule of law is replaced by "common-sense-down-to-earth" judgments.

Secondly, by eliminating controversy, Suburbia assumes unanimity and leaves no room for disagreement. And this "excessive reliance on direct popular action can lead to . . . no popular action at all with the citizen baffled and perplexed and the expert and the small clique in charge."

Thirdly, Suburbia denies the nationally accepted convictions "that on his own initiative, a man selects from a number of alternatives instead of simply reacting to one; that growth is unlimited, and that as the number of alternatives expands, freedom expands as well." The desires to "manage" conflict, to promote harmony, to make individuality suspect—all contradict freedom.

Altogether these three faces of fraternity prompt Wood to conclude that by clinging to the grass roots, "we forfeit the chance to provide variety, to offer the full spectrum of human experience . . . and to offer that variety under arrangements consonant with freedom." And just because of these tendencies and their operating defects "genuine reform is not a likely prospect in our metropolitan areas for some time to come."

But Wood's deadening conclusion need not persist.

In *Landmarks of Tomorrow*,² Peter Drucker too sees a breakdown in metropolitan areas as the interaction between Suburbia and its core cities becomes increasingly difficult: "We complain about the traffic problem, about inadequate community services, about high local taxes." And like Wood he finds that the "central problem is its government. It can solve none of its problems, cannot even tackle them, unless it has effective organization for community decision and action. . . . The metropolis today has no government."

Drucker, however, has taken two steps beyond Wood. First, he has traced out the consequences of local governmental inadequacies. "The traditional organs of local government are not adequate to the new tasks. This is at the bottom of the problem of metropolitan civilization and culture. But it is also a major factor in the crisis of national government. Because there is no effective government in the metropolis, local problems inevitably become central government concerns, which paralyze central government."³ And secondly, Drucker points toward a solution, which he calls a re-establishment of "pluralism"—the invigoration of two-party forms and partisanship: "Pluralism is the starting point for . . . the institutions we need. It still permits a sphere of individual freedom and choice."

In Metropolis, then, is where the socially responsible business politician can make his greatest contribution. He can put his trust in votes and keep his profits dry. And the public relations practitioner can surely tell him why. •

—DON COLEN

² Harper & Bros., New York, N.Y.: 1959, p. 216 ff.

³ Ital added.



1958 SILVER ANVIL AWARDS COMPETITION REPORT OF CHAIRMAN, JUDGES AND AWARDS COMMITTEE

On the basis of the Criteria shown on page 42, your Committee has chosen the winners from among the record number of 158 entries received. We realize that the establishment of a point-scoring system is novel and subject to discussion. Nevertheless, there were and are compelling reasons for our action.

First, the Silver Anvil has become the "OSCAR" of the public relations field. On this count alone, the Competition needs to rise above any criticism of vagueness as to the basis of judging all entries.

Second, the Competition has in the last two years burst out of APRA's organizational britches. The great number of entries now require numerous new mechanics for processing, categorizing and judging—each of which, in one way or another, could be influential as to the outcome for any given entry. Thus, a specific scoring system, such as we imposed, will tend to train those who are involved in the many phases of handling and judging entries—making for greater objectivity toward each entry by all concerned, regardless of appearance, subject or source.

Third, and to us of the highest importance, we have felt that those who enter in the future should have a more rational understanding of exactly what we are looking for in submitted programs. Thus, the establishment of these Criteria will certainly make for better-balanced, more complete entries in many cases. True, this will not make the Judging any easier (in fact, quite the opposite), but it will surely make the Competition all the keener. And we say that is all to the good—for the entry, for APRA, for public relations.

Finally, there is an underlying conviction that has motivated our approach. Clearly, one of public relations' greatest handicaps in its efforts to achieve professional status is its lack of a self-imposed discipline. (The closest thing to it is found in the ritual of pro forma membership application to APRA or PRSA). To live up to our heart's desire, however, can we avoid the establishment of a set of standards which are at once our severest taskmasters and the definitive tools of our trade? We think not. And what better than APRA's Silver Anvil Awards Competition as the medium for announcing this higher goal to which all of us in public relations eventually will pledge ourselves!

Having so conducted this year's Competition, APRA already is establishing meaningful definitions which may assume great importance. They can and will be looked to by practitioners and clients, by teachers and students, by critics and the general public as the frame of reference within which our professional aspirations may be acknowledged and perhaps some day realized.

Speaking also for my able co-chairmen, H. Walton Cloke and Hayes Dever, we fully recognize that we have merely taken the first steps. There will be corrections and improvements as time goes on and more experience is gained. But we earnestly hope that having thus gone forward, APRA will capitalize on this opportunity for gaining a true professional stride.

STANLEY G. HOUSE

15th ANNUAL SILVER ANVIL AWARDS COMPETITION—1958

Category

Agriculture	Silver Anvil: Smokey Bear Headquarters U. S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company
Banking, Finance & Insurance	Silver Anvil: Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> The Travelers Insurance Companies
Chambers of Commerce	Silver Anvil: Killeen Chamber of Commerce and 2d Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none
Civic Enterprises	Silver Anvil: Beautify Greater Dallas Association and Jones-Carl, Inc.
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none
Communications	Silver Anvil: National Broadcasting Company
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> The Washington Post and Times Herald
Distribution & Marketing	Silver Anvil: Lever Brothers Company
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Philco Corporation
Educational Institutions & Organizations	Silver Anvil: Ralston Purina Company and Biderman, Tolk & Associates
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> National Education Association Division of Press & Radio Relations
Entertainment & Recreation	Silver Anvil: Cleveland Baseball Federation and City of Cleveland
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Orange Bowl Committee
Government	Silver Anvil: City of Philadelphia
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Hospitals	Silver Anvil: Syracuse Hospital Council and Doug Johnson Associates, Inc.
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Montefiore Hospital and Victor Weingarten Public Relations
International Relations Originating Inside the United States	Silver Anvil: The Ambler Gazette
	<i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Soiltest, Inc.
International Relations Originating Outside the United States	Silver Anvil: U. S. Information Service, Thailand
	<i>Certificates of Achievement:</i> Caltex, S. A. F. Bamberg Post Supervisor Initiatives Headquarters, 7th Air Division (SAC)

SILVER ANVIL AND CERTIFICATE OF ACHIEVEMENT WINNERS

Category

Labor Unions	Silver Anvil: Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees Union, AFL-CIO <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none
Manufacturing	Silver Anvil: Microbeads, Inc. and The Beverage Organization <i>Certificates of Achievement:</i> Miniature Precision Bearings, Inc. and Ruder & Finn, Inc. The Champion Paper and Fibre Company
Military	Silver Anvil: U. S. Army ROTC and Dancer-Fitzgerald-Sample <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Information Section, Seventh U. S. Army
Philanthropic Organizations	Silver Anvil: Heart of America United Campaign and Ross C. Roach <i>Certificates of Achievement:</i> National Urban League, Inc. Goodwill Industries of America, Inc. Greater New York Fund
Professional Associations	Silver Anvil: American Osteopathic Association <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none
Retailing	Silver Anvil: B. Forman Company and Rumrill Co., Inc. <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> Lane Bryant, Inc.
Trade Associations	Silver Anvil: Milk Industry Foundation <i>Certificates of Achievement:</i> Associated Florists of Fresno County and Edmond D. Boles & Associates Practical Politics Subcommittee, Manufacturers Association Syracuse
Transportation & Travel	Silver Anvil: Eastern Railroad Presidents Conference and Carl Byoir & Associates <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none
Utilities	Silver Anvil: "Live Better Electrically" <i>Certificate of Achievement:</i> none

PANEL OF JUDGES

Dr. Melvin Brodshaug . . . W. Richard Bruner . . . Professor Alfred A. Crowell . . . A. A. Desser . . . Elmor A. Hammesfahr . . . Richard Hodgson . . . Howard Hudson . . . Rear Admiral C. C. Kirkpatrick . . . Major General A. H. Luehman . . . William McManus . . . Harold F. Merrill . . . Colonel D. R. Nugent . . . Alejandro Orfila . . . Arthur Reef . . . Glenn B. Sanberg . . . Major General H. P. Storke . . . R. Lyle Webster . . . Albert J. Zack

OFFICIAL JUDGING CRITERIA *

The American Public Relations Association is the repository of an important public trust—the Silver Anvil Awards. As guardian of this trust, in discharging its responsibility to the public and the Public Relations profession, the Judges and Awards Committee believes it is of vital importance that each entry be measured against the following criteria to insure its qualifying for an Award:

CRITERIA				Points
Planning	Execution	Results	Significance	
30 point total	35 point total	15 point total	20 point total	
<i>Research</i> —Thoroughness of advance study, background development.....				10
<i>Scope</i> —Completeness or comprehensive nature of the plan.....				10
<i>Budget</i> —Extent of planning considerations given to cost.....				10
<i>Media</i> —The utilization of all possibilities suitable to the purpose.....				5
<i>Originality</i> —Communication techniques adopted, adapted, or innovated.....				10
<i>Quality</i> —Professional handling, appearance and standards, as applied to media and techniques.....				20
<i>Measurement</i> —Efforts made to establish methods of identifying, analyzing and qualifying results.....				5
<i>Realization</i> —Partial or complete achievement of goals				10
<i>Internally</i> —Will practitioners in public relations be able to learn something professionally from this program?..				5
<i>Externally</i> —Will this program serve to enhance the general public attitude about public relations?.....				5
<i>Public Interest</i> —Is this program one which serves a self-interested cause alone, or does it also have broader social advantages?.....				10
TOTAL				100

A) Points should *not* be inter-changed, and may *not* exceed limits set per criterion.

B) Please do *not* consider the appearance of the entry *per se*.

Judges and Awards Committee . . . 1958 Silver Anvil Awards Competition
 STANLEY G. HOUSE, *Chairman*

H. WALTON CLOKE, *Vice Chairman* HAYES DEVER, *Vice Chairman*

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